

### The Imbalanced Constitutional Budget Amendment

By Congressman Jesse L. Jackson, Jr.

Mr. Speaker, I have given several Special Order speeches about my view of the Constitution, making the argument for why I think it should be amended to include certain basic rights that the American people currently lack. These include the right to a high-quality education, the right to health care, and equal rights for women. This afternoon, my special order time will be used to discuss the Continuing Resolution for FY2011, the Republican Proposed FY 2012 Budget, and the Balanced Budget Amendment or what I've taken to calling the "ImBalanced Budget Amendment".

Not too long ago, the House passed H.R. 1, a continuing resolution that would have forced middle and working class Americans to carry the heavy burden of spending cuts. My colleagues across the aisle simplified the impacts of this measure by describing it as "tightening our belts". They seem to be oblivious to the fact that these cuts went deep for those Americans who could least afford them.

H.R. 1 "tightened our belts", slashing programs like Community Health Centers, specifically designed to provide access to basic health and dental services to underserved communities that may not otherwise be able to get the care they need.

H.R. 1 "tightened our belts" through cuts to the National Institutes of Health, setting back development of cancer treatments and cures for other diseases, the impact of which we will feel for years to come, as medical professionals are forced to shut down promising research projects.

H.R. 1 "tightened our belts" by hacking away at training for Health Professions, reducing this

funding by more than 23%. Cuts to Title VII and VIII programs that help to train primary health professionals for underserved areas, would limit the access of low income individuals to quality doctors, nurses and physicians assistants in their areas.

H.R. 1 "tightened our belts" by severing Title X family planning programs. In doing so, we stepped back in time, preventing life saving care from being offered to our nation's women, specifically women who wouldn't otherwise have access to this kind of care.

The programs I've listed so far provide health services to our nation, and especially our most under privileged populations. H.R. 1 also tightened our belts with cuts to job training programs, Head Start and after-school programs, Pell Grants, Hope VI Housing programs, and high speed rail.

These programs were systematically sent to the guillotine. The people that they serve are not the millionaires, to whom we generously extended tax cuts. They are not the corporations who eagerly navigate tax loopholes, every year, costing our nation billions in revenue.

- They are the every day,
- hard working,
- middle class,
- public school educated,
- check book balancing,
- minimum wage earning,

- mothers and fathers and grandparents
- that elected each of us, hoping we'd find a way to decrease unemployment, and bring America back from the brink.

Mr. Speaker, thankfully, our colleagues across the Capitol thought we went a few notches too tight in our belt with H.R. 1. As the Senate refused to take up these cuts, much of our future long term budget discussions to reduce our deficit and get America back on track remain in limbo.

Recently this discussion had reached a fever pitch.

After multiple short term extensions of the FY 2011 Appropriations legislation, the negotiations between Speaker Boehner, Leader Reid and the President had broken down many times throughout the week.

We were faced with the threat of the first government shutdown since 1996. Agencies were planning which workers to furlough, National Parks and Museums were prepared to shut their doors for the weekend, and the brave women and men in the active-duty of our Armed forces were prepared to continue to work without pay.

Then, at the eleventh hour, there was a breakthrough. The five and a half month Continuing Resolution, agreed to by the leadership of House and Senate, included a total of \$39 billion worth of cuts.

But these cuts that were agreed to late into Friday, have real consequences. There are

significant cuts to programs like WIC, the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women Infants and Children, Community Health Centers, the Low Income Heating and Energy Assistance Program, international disaster assistance and Head Start.

After the President and Congressional leadership agreed to giving \$800 billion in tax cuts to America's top wage earners last December, we turned around and cut programs that working families and seniors depend on. It just doesn't make sense, Mr. Speaker.

Again, while I was relieved that the federal government did not shut down, I am deeply disappointed in the process that has brought us to this "compromise", if you can even call it that.

Like the negotiations that held up tax cuts for the middle class at the end of last year to hold out for tax cuts for the wealthy, our leadership has again demonstrated that they are willing to hold up programs that provide for the most vulnerable Americans. And this Congress is only just beginning.

As for the next fiscal year's budget, there are a variety of solutions that have been presented, some with potential to succeed, others destined to fail. Among the proposals lie Budget Committee Chairman Paul Ryan's recent offering. Looking at the facts, his proposal *will* reduce our nation's deficit, but leaves us asking the question, *at what cost?*

First and foremost, Mr. Ryan intends to place the burden of ending our nation's debt on the citizens least capable of caring for themselves, those most reliant on the help of others: our seniors.

The Budget Committee's proposal would end the Medicare our senior citizens have come to know and rely on, replacing it with what can only be described as a coupon - a voucher that, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, would leave our eldest Americans shouldering 68% of their healthcare costs in the next 20 years.

Who else pays the cost of balancing our budget within the Ryan proposal? The burden falls next

to working American families. The Ryan proposal will lower the tax rates for individuals with the highest income as well as corporations, relying on raising taxes for the average American to pay for it.

If it sounds familiar, it's because this is the same standby, trickle down, failure that we have placed our faith in for the past decade.

Despite what Majority Leader Cantor says, during an economic downturn, decreasing the deficit does not create jobs. Also, cutting taxes does not create jobs. Both Presidents Bush and Obama have cut taxes so much that if Eric Cantor's theory were correct, we should have zero unemployment, which we DO NOT HAVE. This is what the Ryan plan aims to do.

For ten years our economy has stagnated. The gap between the median wage and average wage is growing, because the highest earners are the only ones receiving wage increases.

Unfortunately, balancing our nation's budget on the backs of the middle class does NOT end there.

Where else will the burden of balancing the budget fall under the Ryan plan? Education. Cuts to K-12 education are just the starting point in disadvantaging the future of America. The proposal also makes significant cuts to Pell Grants. These cuts will prevent the educated generation of young Americans our country needs to compete in a global economy.

The proposed cuts to Pell Grants would return the maximum award allowable to pre-stimulus levels, impacting millions of young Americans depending on financial assistance to attend college.

This will stretch the time it will take for them to earn their degrees and enter the workforce.

Finally, Ryan's budget continues to provide tax loopholes to big oil companies, and cuts all

federal support for clean energy, short sighting our economic investments in the future of energy.

Mr. Speaker, I am not promoting constant federal debt. I am not advocating against hoping or trying for a balanced budget. But when you look through the history of our nation, we see that when Americans were in the most need, during war or recession, during the Great Depression, we focused on solving those problems, not just reducing our debt.

Mr. Speaker, we are currently engaged in two wars and fighting our way out of the worst recession of the modern era. The Ryan budget is a new attempt at an age old ploy to mandate a balanced budget for the federal government.

Ending our nation's deficit and returning our country to prosperity, should of course be the goal. But we must also ask the question, at what cost? Where do our priorities lie?

The Ryan proposal like the myriad constitutional amendments before it, attempts to balance our budget on the backs of those Americans who can least bear the burden.

### **History of a Balanced Budget Amendment**

The current budget situation is most poignant when looking at the origins of the Balanced Budget Amendment and its history.

Mr. Speaker, after listening to my colleague's across the aisle present the Republican Study Committee's budget this morning, I'm apt to wonder what it is they're studying over there. Hopefully I'll be able to set the record straight.

As a reaction to FDR's New Deal, Republican Congressman Harold Knutson of Minnesota introduced the first version of the amendment in 1936. Like many Constitutional Amendments, this resolution did not receive a hearing or a vote. During President Dwight D. Eisenhower's first term, the Judiciary Committee of a barely Democratic Senate held its first hearing on this amendment. It again did not receive a vote.

After these partial defeats, BBA supporters shifted their focus to the states. From 1975 to 1980, 30 state legislatures passed resolutions calling for a constitutional convention to propose this Amendment directly to the states.

The election of President Reagan and a Republican Senate in 1980, renewed hopes for the Balanced Budget Amendment and passage by Congress. While the Senate did adopt the amendment in 1982, it failed to garner the necessary three-fifths majority in the House. This failure energized conservative groups such as the National Taxpayers Union and the National Tax Limitation Committee to refocus on state action.

In 1982 and 1983, the Alaska and Missouri legislatures passed resolutions supporting the BBA, bringing the total number of these resolutions to 32, two short of the 34 needed for a convention. However, a growing concern about the scope of a constitutional convention led some states to withdraw their resolutions, re-shifting focus to Congressional action.

From 1990 to 1994, Congress would make three additional attempts to codify this amendment. All failed to garner the necessary three-fifths majority.

However, the BBA made a comeback when it was included in Newt Gingrich's Contract with America. Twenty-six days after taking office, the newly empowered Republican majority adopted the BBA, giving conservatives their first Congressional win in a decade. Disappointment awaited in the Senate, where two separate votes fell just short of adoption. This failure, along with the balanced budget and the Budget surplus at the decade's end, sapped any remaining Congressional support for the BBA.

There was renewed Republican support for the amendment in 2000 as it was included in party's platform. The Bush Tax Cuts, wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the massive deficit spending created by them eventually led Republicans to sweep the Balanced Budget Amendment back under the rug. By 2004, the Republican Party left any mention of a balanced budget out of their platform.

Again in recent years, with the advent of the Tea Party and the return of extreme fiscal conservatism in the Republican party, there are currently twelve Balanced Budget Amendments in the House and three in the Senate.

I had my staff double check that for me. 12 Balanced Budget Amendments in the House. They are all basically the same. Some have even been offered by members of my own party.

I understand these Members' frustration, Mr. Speaker.--I've been trying pass my nine Amendments to the Constitution for 10 years now and my Amendments are based on FDR's "2nd Bill of Rights" which he proposed back in 1944. Today, 67 years later, here we are.

Mr. Speaker, I fundamentally believe that conservatives in congress are pushing for this amendment, not to force a vote in congress, but to rally states to act.

Mr. Speaker, we have a troubling national debt and deficit. But the Balanced Budget Amendment is NOT the solution.

### **Balanced Budget Amendment**

The argument proponents of Balanced Budget Amendment make is as follows: like families,



businesses, and states, the federal government should balance its budget. But since it does not, we need a constitutional amendment to guarantee that it will do so.

Nearly every state in this Union has some form of a balanced budget requirement. But those states are not out of debt. Their amendments have restricted their ability to care for their citizens in times of austerity or emergency.

According to a Forbes analysis of the global debt crises in January of 2010, every single state in the country is carrying some form of debt. These debts range from as little as \$17 per capita in Nebraska to \$4,490 in Connecticut.

How can this be, Mr. Speaker? It's because the infrastructure of these states allows them to hide debt in Capital Funds. The federal government cannot, and I would argue the federal government should not follow this path.

Congress should never seek to hide the fiscal realities from the public that bear the burden of the cost. Nor should we sell the public magic beans that a Balanced Budget Amendment will make the national debt and other problems go away. Debt will exist just as new problems will arise.

In the fiscal year 2012, approximately 44 states will face revenue shortfalls. Many are desperately looking for ways to declare their state bankrupt. Bankrupt, I say it again, Mr. Speaker, because this proposed amendment would place the federal government in a similar predicament. The effect in many states is calamitous.

For instance in Rhode Island, judges and court workers have cut pay and left 53 positions unfilled. This is still not enough to balance their budget. As a desperate last resort, the Chief Justice has begun to dispose of cases on backlog. Literally, just tossing them out. Florida is in the same predicament.

Mr. Speaker, a Balanced Budget Amendment would force the federal government to deny Americans the right to seek redress and justice in federal courts, for the sake of balancing the

budget.

In my home state of Illinois, mental-health services have been cut by \$91 million. Human Service directors are fearful that these cuts will cause a real public-health and public safety crisis.

Iowa, Idaho, Alabama and Ohio are considering drastic cuts to education.

My colleagues across the aisle are so concerned about handing our children and grandchildren any amount of national debt, that they have failed to realize we are setting future generations up for failure.

States are already cutting too many services that make the American workforce strong and competitive. Should the federal government do the same, our legacy will be an America that is uneducated and ill-equipped to compete on a global level.

Mr. Speaker, as exemplified by its effects on the states, this amendment may sound good on its face, but it falls flat when examined more critically.

Like an optical illusion whose image changes as you draw closer, the Balanced Budget Amendment masquerades as the savior of our budget, yet in reality threatens to permanently destroy it.

According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Citizens for Tax Justice, and others, a federal Balanced Budget Amendment would:

- Damage our economy by making recessions deeper and more frequent;

- Heighten the risk of default and jeopardize the full faith and credit of the US government;
- Lead to reductions in needed investments for the future;
- favor wealthy Americans over middle- and low-income Americans by making it far more difficult to raise revenues and easier to cut programs;
- And weaken the principle of majority rule.

Therefore, passing a Balanced Budget Amendment is not a prudent path for the nation to follow.

Let's return to the five faults outlined by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and Citizens for Tax Justice. These arguments will bring to light the dangers with which a Balanced Budget Amendment would threaten our nation.

***The First Fault:*** a Balanced Budget Amendment would damage the economy and make recessions deeper and more frequent

Under a Balanced Budget Amendment, Congress would be forced to adopt a rigid fiscal policy, requiring the budget to be balanced or in surplus every year, regardless of the current economic situation, or threat to the nation's security.

A sluggish economy with less revenue and more outgoing expenditures creates a deficit. As we've seen from recent events, a deficit necessitates economic stimulation to reverse negative growth.

That is why in the last session of Congress, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act invested in roads, bridges, mass transit, and other infrastructure, provided 95% of working

Americans with an immediate tax cut and extended unemployment insurance and COBRA for Americans hurt by the economic downturn through no fault of their own.

If Congress were forced to function under a Balanced Budget Amendment, deficit reduction would be mandated, even more so during periods of slow or stalled economic growth, which is the opposite of what is needed in such a situation.

This consistently proposed constitutional amendment risks making recessions more common and more catastrophic for middle class families, seniors, veterans and the poor. Under such an amendment, Congress is stripped of any power to adequately respond.

***The Second Fault:*** A BBA would risk default and jeopardize the full faith and credit of the US government while simultaneously challenging the Separation of Powers.

A BBA would bar the government from borrowing funds unless a three-fifths vote in both houses of Congress permitted a raise in the debt limit. Under such a scenario, a budget crisis in which a default becomes a threat is more likely, and because of the limits placed on the fluidity of the debt ceiling, that default becomes more likely to occur.

After a default of only a few days, long term impacts would quickly appear. Confidence in ability of the U.S. to meet binding financial obligations would erode almost immediately. The government pays relatively low interest rates on its loans because it pays its debts back in full and on time. A default would mimic an earthquake, shaking confidence in the U.S. on a global scale, resulting in exploding interest rates and aftershocks felt in our national economy.

The international economy would also succumb to the rumbling of this potential disaster, and

our deep connection to it would cause even further chaos here at home.

Other BBA proponents argue that since states have to balance their budgets, so should the federal government. Indeed, many states are required to balance their *operating* budgets, but not their *total* budgets. No such distinction is made by a BBA.

"Rainy-day" or reserve funds, which states can draw on to balance their budgets, are prohibited by a BBA. Many states operating under a BBA require the governor to **submit** a balanced budget, but do not require

**actual achievement**

of it. Some states allow governors to act unilaterally to cut spending in the middle of a fiscal year. This condition of the BBA would violate the federal Constitution's separation of powers.

The Founding Fathers were deliberate in their construction of government, and the separation of powers serves as a cornerstone in our democracy. Each branch has certain powers and limitations. Congress, the Courts, and the President work together, but in distinct ways, to move America forward. The threat of judicial involvement in matters of the budget, is real and present under the BBA.

The BBA would threaten the balance of power. It diminishes the authority of Congress, as the elected Representatives of the people, to have the final say on taxes and spending. Mr. Speaker, what purpose does this body serve if this amendment passes? Should we broaden the scope of Judicial Review granted to our federal courts?

By subverting the balance of power between the branches, this body steps on to a slippery slope of reassigning authority and moving away from the values inherent in our constitution.

***The Third Fault:*** A BBA would lead to reductions in needed investments for the future;

Since the 1930's our nation has consistently made public investments that improve long-term productivity growth: in education, infrastructure, research and development. These efforts encourage increased private sector investment, leading to budget surplus, and a thriving economy. A Balanced Budget Amendment, which requires a balanced budget each and every year, would limit the government's ability to make public investments thereby hindering future growth.

For years, conservatives have abused the debt and the deficit as a springboard from which to argue for smaller government and cuts to programs that serve as social safety nets to American families. Although we must consider the debt and deficit, the larger and more significant issue is the nature of the debt--what created it.

If you invest fifty thousand dollars in a business, a house, or an education, you can expect future returns on your investment. If you "invest" the same fifty thousand dollars in a gun collection and ammunition, what are the future investment returns? Both investments result in a fifty-thousand-dollar debt, but only one results in returns that can transform that debt into a long term gain.

Social investments provide the potential for greater returns in the long run, in the same fashion as personal investments. Even small expenditures on social programs lay a foundation for great wealth in the long term.

If the nation chose to invest over a five-year period, \$1.5 trillion in the building of roads, bridges, airports, railroads, mass transit, schools, housing, and health care, we would create a debt.

But the increased ability of companies to interact and ship their goods over well paved and planned roads, the new businesses that would sprout around a freshly built or newly expanded airport, the higher wages of a student who was well educated and able to attend college resulting in more tax revenue, the improved productivity of employees at their healthiest, would eventually result in greater returns for our country.

The extension of Bush era tax cuts for corporations and the rich, brought about some short-term stimulus of consumer spending. But, similar to Reagan's tax cuts which resulted in record government deficits and debt, the long term damage outweighs the immediate effects.

Reagan's tax cuts for the rich came at the expense of investing in our nation's need for long-term balanced economic growth. The Reagan administration neglected and cut back on our nation's investment in infrastructure, education, health care, housing, job training, transportation, energy conservation, and much more.

The inclination of most conservatives in both parties, is to cut the debt by cutting programs for the most vulnerable among us--our poor, our children, our elderly, and minorities. This approach, however, has been proven false too many times. A Balanced Budget Amendment would take us back to this archaic and ineffective system, permanently.

***The Fourth Fault:*** A Balanced Budget Amendment favors wealthy Americans over middle- and low-income Americans by making it harder to raise revenues and easier to cut programs

Again, a BBA ultimately favors wealthy Americans over middle- and lower-income Americans. Under current law, legislation can pass by a majority of those *present and voting* by a recorded vote. The BBA however requires that legislation raising taxes be approved on a roll call vote by a majority of the full membership of both houses.

Thus, the BBA would make it harder to cut the deficit by curbing the special interest tax breaks of the oil and gas industries and make it easier to reduce programs such as Medicare,

Medicaid, Social Security, veterans benefits, education, environmental programs, and assistance for poor children.

Wealthy individuals and corporations receive most of their government benefits in the form of tax entitlements while low income, and middle income Americans receive most of their government benefits through programs.

As evidenced by the cuts that both parties agreed upon recently, its far easier to cut social welfare programs than to cut spending on our military, or to increase taxes. As long as spending is a political issue, cuts to those programs that assist those with the smallest voice in government, will always happen first.

Raising taxes, the only option to address a budget deficit aside from cutting programs, is already a burdensome political issue. The additional requirements of a BBA further complicate the process of raising taxes. This means that the richest Americans will likely keep the benefits they receive from our government via tax cuts.

Meanwhile, the poor lose the programs that provide them with housing, food, job training, health care, and the means to survive. This will further reinforce the growing gap between the rich, and the rest of our society: middle class, working poor, and destitute alike.

Aside from this already distressing point, when the baby boom generation retires, the ratio of workers to retirees will fall to low levels. This poses difficulties for Social Security, since Social Security has been a pure "pay-as-you-go" system, with the payroll taxes of current workers paying for the benefits of current retirees.

This was acceptable as long as today's workers could pay for today's retirees. But, in the future, when there are fewer workers to pay for more retirees, the system will be out of balance. So in 1977 and 1983, the Social Security Administration took important and prudent steps toward addressing this issue. It allowed the accumulation of reserves to be used later when



needed. These changes were akin to what families do by saving for retirement during their working years, and then drawing down on their savings after they reach retirement.

The BBA insists that the total government expenditures in any year, including those for Social Security benefits, not exceed total revenues collected *in that same year*, including revenues from Social Security payroll taxes. Thus, the benefits of the baby boomers would have to be financed *in full* by the taxes of those working and paying into the system then. This undercuts the central reforms of 1983.

Drawing down on any part of accumulated reserves, required under present law, under a BBA would mean the trust funds were spending more in benefits in those years than they were receiving in taxes. Under a BBA, that would be impermissible deficit spending.

**The Fifth Fault:** A BBA weakens the principle of majority rule and makes balancing the budget more difficult.

Most Balanced Budget Amendments require that unless three-fifths of the members of Congress agree to raise the debt ceiling, the budget must be balanced at all times. They also require that legislation raising taxes must be approved on a roll call vote by a majority of the *full membership* of both houses, not just those present and voting.

Clearly this provision weakens the current principle of majority rule. A three-fifths requirement empowers a minority (40 percent, plus one). It creates a small group, willing to threaten economic turmoil and disruption unless they get their way, with the ability to extort concessions or exercise unprecedented leverage over our national economic and fiscal policy.

Mr. Speaker, haven't the last few weeks demonstrated how difficult it already is to reach consensus on a budget? This provision will make it simply impossible.

### **Ezra Klein Argument:**

There is a final fault, which is not on my list, but is significant enough to mention: Ezra Klein, of the Washington Post, cleverly points out in a recent article titled, "The Worst Idea in Washington" that under a BBA, not a single budget of the Bush or Reagan Administrations would qualify as Constitutional. In fact, the only recent Administration which would not violate the requirements of the Balanced Budget Amendment would be President Clinton for only two of his budgets.

Mr. Speaker, if President Reagan's budget wouldn't qualify, is this really something we should even be considering?

### **Conclusion:**

I've listed a few, and certainly not an exhaustive list, of arguments against the Balanced Budget Amendment. The truth is the federal budget is quite unlike the fiscal practices of businesses, families, and states. Contrary to popular myth, except in times of war and recessions, the country has a conservative record of keeping deficits in line.

Our government needs the flexibility to respond in times of economic downturn or war, in a way that businesses, families and states never have to consider.

I've been in the House long enough to know, that when my colleagues on the other side of the aisle came into the majority with large deficits and debt, I knew their first response would be to cut social spending, weaken government regulation, and underfund protection of workers' rights, civil rights, environmental protections, you name it.

I wish I could say I didn't see this coming. But, conservative politicians want to get the government "off the backs" of business, finance and industry. They are willing and ready to use the current economic situation to do it and they intend to place the burden on the backs of middle class families, seniors, children, veterans and the poor.

The Republican budget we voted on today does just that. The Balanced Budget Amendment aims to make it a permanent fixture.

Mr. Speaker, I know we can do better. We cannot balance the budget on the backs of middle class Americans. We need to achieve the America of everyone's dreams. The burden of that dream must rest squarely on the shoulders of EVERY American that can carry it.

I find it offensive that some of the most profitable corporations in this country pay no taxes and some even get a refund. I find it offensive that the richest 400 people in the country who have more wealth than half of all Americans combined have an effective tax rate of only 16.6%.

In the words of William Jennings Bryan, "When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours." With those wise words, I yield back the balance of my time.